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E. M. Satow's Early Publications: A Founding Father of Modern Japanology

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Ernest Mason Satow was the son of a Swedish merchant who had migrated from Riga to England in 1825 and of an English mother whose maiden name became his middle name. He was born at Clapton, in Northeast London, on June 30, 1843.

After a strict Lutheran upbringing and early education at Mill Hill school, he was admitted to University College, London, at the age of 16. Bright and studious, he received his B. A. degree two years later, in the autumn of 1861.

He first became interested in Japan when one of his brothers brought home Oliphant's "Narrative of the Earl of Elgin's Mission to Japan". His interest was deepened by an account of Perry's expedition. He then came across a notice in the college, announcing competitions for studentships in China and Japan. He entered, and was placed first on the list. Given his choice of country, Satow selected Japan, and shortly after graduation, at the age of 18, departed for the Far East. He arrived in Japan in September of 1862 and stayed there, except for two seasons of home leave, for a continuous period of 20 years.

Much of his published writing stems from this early period of his life. The following will summarise his early published writings from 1865 to 1882.

Satow's first published work was "The Various Styles of Japanese Writing", a two-page article in the *Chinese and Japanese Repository*, No. XX, March 1865.¹ He examines four examples of

¹ The *Chinese and Japanese Repository* was a short-lived journal edited by James Summers (1828-1891). Summers was born the only son of a sculptor, Edward Summers, in Lichfield, Kent, England. A self-taught scholar of Chinese and Japanese, he is credited with giving the first ever lectures on English literature (Shakespeare) in Japan. Remarkably, despite his youth and lack of a univer-

Japanese writing: a specimen of Chinese characters with katakana; Chinese characters and hirakana; giousho (semi-cursive Chinese characters) and hiragana, with the latter written sometimes alongside of the characters (i.e. furigana); and a specimen of a well-educated woman's letter (in hiragana). In each case a roman-letter transcription is provided, and an English translation. Some grammatical notes are also given. Satow's intention in publishing this work was to "throw much light upon a very difficult subject, and serve as a guide to some who are commencing the study of this language."

In the same year he then published a "Translation of the Diary of a member of the Japanese Embassy to Europe in 1862-3" (*Chinese and Japanese Repository*, Nos. XXIV to XXIX, July to December 1865). This is sub-titled "A confused account of a trip to Europe, like a fly on a horse's tail". The comparison is intended to express the humility of the Japanese author. Satow translated the account of three Imperial envoys and their retinue who were sent to six European countries "to renew the ancient treaties". He translated the diary for Sir Rutherford Alcock, then British Minister in Japan, who was duly impressed with his linguistic ability.

In March, April and May, 1866, Satow published an original work in three parts called "English Policy" in the *Japan Times*. This was later translated into Japanese as "Eikoku Sakuron" 英国策論 and taken to be the official British view. However, Satow wrote purely as a private individual. He openly advocated a confederation of the feudal chiefs under the supremacy of the Emperor to replace the Tycoon (Shogun) whose power he sensed was fading. The document was prophetic and may have influenced the course of events.

There followed a period of four years in which Satow did not publish. Then in July, 1870 he published "The Ainos of Yezo". Yezo was the old name for Hokkaido. This appeared as a two-page article in *The Phoenix* (No. 1).² In it Satow described the location of

sity education, one year after his return to England from China in 1852, he was appointed Professor of Chinese at King's College, London University. Satow was one of his pupils, and was no doubt greatly influenced by Summers. The latter came to Japan in 1873 to teach at the Kaisei Gakkou 開成学校, the forerunner of Tokyo University, on the invitation of the Iwakura Mission. He subsequently taught in Niigata, Osaka and Sapporo (at the Agricultural School).

² *The Phoenix* was Summers' next short-lived journal.

Ainu villages, the dress and appearance of Ainu men and women, their diet and a short word list.

In November, 1871, Satow wrote again for *The Phoenix* (No. 17). This time his topic was "An Episode in Japanese History: An extract from a book entitled 'The History of Taikousama'." Taikousama was an alias for Hideyoshi. The book extended to 84 volumes, published between 1797 and 1802. Satow's extract covers only two pages. It is entitled "The Armies of Mikadsuki and Mowori Unite to Attack Danidaizen's Fort."

In 1872 Satow read a paper on October 30th before the Asiatic Society of Japan³ called "Notes on Loochoo" which became the opening article in Volume 1 of the journal of the Society. It describes the history and geography of Loochoo, "called Liukiu by the Chinese and Riukiu by the Japanese." There are accounts of the customs, temperament and language of the Loochooans (present-day Okinawans). Some fine lithographs of costumes, scenery etc. are included.

Another article in the same journal (called *Transactions*) was entitled "The Geography of Japan". It was read before the Society on March 22nd, 1873. It sought to correct certain basic errors in Dr. Cornwell's *School Geography*, introduce the divisions of the provinces of Japan, and the names of the main rivers and mountains.

In 1873 Satow published two more translations, this time of *Kaikoku Shidan*,⁴ a history of Japan from Perry's visit in 1853 to

³ Satow was a founder member of the Asiatic Society of Japan and contributed various pieces to the published *Transactions*. He was President from 1895 to 1900.

⁴ *Kaikoku Shidan* 開国史談 was re-published in English as *Japan (1853-64)* (sub-titled "Genji Yume Monogatari"/The Dream of Genji) in 1905. A photograph of a hand-written letter from Satow to the publisher is included:

British Legation
25 April 1905 Peking

Dear Mr. Watanabe,

I am much flattered by your proposal to reprint my translation of the Genji Yume Monogatari along with the Japanese text and some notes. I willingly give my consent. It is so many years ago since the translation was made that I cannot feel sure that the translation is always correct, but I have no time to revise it, even if I had the original and translations at hand—which I have not. I trust therefore that you will correct any mistakes that you find in the translation.

Yours very sincerely
Ernest Satow

1864, and *Kinse Shiryaku*⁵, from 1853 to the capture of Hakodate by the Mikado's forces in 1869. In between these two he published a language textbook called *Kuauwa Hen*,⁶ or *Twenty-Five Exercises in the Yedo Colloquial* for students such as his fellows in the British legation. It contains some rather comical scenes between Japanese domestics and their British masters, especially regarding dismissal of servants "for various reasons".

The following is an extract from the dialogue, written in Aston's (pre-Hepburn) system of romaji and English:

1. Danna sama, shôshô o negai môshitai koto ga gosaimasu.
2. Nan' da?
3. Oyaji ga kiubiô da to môshitê inaka kara tegami ga mairimashita.
Dôzo shi go nichî o hima wo itadakitô gosaimasu.
4. Temae no oyaji wa yoku tabitabi wadzurô nâ. Mata uso wo ittê asobi ni demo iku n' d' arô.

1. Please, sir, may I ask a favour?
2. What is it?
3. A letter has come from the country saying that my father is dangerously ill. May I have leave for four or five days?
4. Your father is always getting something the matter with him. You're telling a lie. The real reason is you want to go and amuse yourself.

(Exercise XIV.)

1874 saw the publication of Satow's first work related to religion, "The Shintau Temples of Ise" (read before the Asiatic Society of Japan on February 18, 1874). A detailed description of the shrines is given for the Western visitor, including precise measurements and etymologies, as well as the legend of Izanagi and Izanami.

This was followed in 1875 by a closer investigation into the nature of the Shinto religion entitled "The Revival of Pure Shin-tau", entered as an Appendix to Volume III of the *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan* and revised by the author in 1882. By "pure Shin-tau", Satow meant the religious belief of the Japanese before

⁵ *Kinse Shiryaku* 近世史略 first appeared as a serialized translation in the *Japan Times*. It was revised by Shuziro Watanabe and re-published by The Naigwai Shuppan Kyokwai, Tokyo in 1906.

⁶ *Kuauwa Hen* (printed at the *Japan Mail* office) consists of sentences in romanized Japanese accompanied by a separate volume of commentary. It was apparently first prepared for A. B. Mitford, later Lord Redesdale, when he was posted to Japan and wanted to learn some Japanese. Satow acknowledged his debt to W. G. Aston for his 'Short Grammar of the Spoken Language' and adopted Aston's system of romanized transliteration.

the introduction of Buddhism and Confucian philosophy into Japan. By its revival he meant the attempt made by a (then) modern school of writers to present Shin-tau in its original form. The founder of the modern school was Kada Adzuma-maro,⁷ born in 1669. He was followed by Mabuchi,⁸ a voluminous writer of poetry, who in turn was succeeded by Motowori Norinaga⁹ (born 1730). His greatest work was his commentary on the *Kô-zhi-ki*.¹⁰ The fourth scholar was Hirata Atsutane¹¹ (born 1776) who wrote

⁷ Kada no Adzuma-maro 荷田春満 (1669–1736) was a Kokugaku (National Learning) scholar and poet. Born into a priestly family in Kyoto, he was educated in the traditions of Waka poetry and Shinto scholarship. Considered one of the founders of the Kokugaku tradition, he urged that it be officially adopted in place of Confucianism as the ethical underpinning of the state. A modern collection of his complete works *Kada Zenshuu* appeared in 1928.

⁸ Kamo no Mabuchi 賀茂真淵 (1697–1769). Kokugaku scholar and Waka poet. He is known for his contributions to the development of the National Learning school through his studies of the ancient Japanese classics (particularly the *Man'yôshû*, the oldest anthology of Japanese verse, compiled late in the 8th century). He combined the comparative philological research methods of Keichû 契沖 (1640–1701) with the ethical system of Kada no Adzuma-maro. Mabuchi emphasised a Shinto creed of simplicity and spontaneity. As a poet, he favoured the so-called Man'you style. His magnum opus, the *Man'yôkô* (1760–68) discusses the linguistic aspects and literary value of the *Man'yôshû*.

⁹ Motowori Norinaga 本居宣長 (1730–1801) was the classical scholar of the Edo period who was largely responsible for bringing the Kokugaku (National Learning) movement to its culmination. His works total more than 90 titles and 260 volumes and are characterized by a rigorous philological approach, a recognition of the emotional nature of man, and a profound sense of reverence for Shinto mythology. His aim was to discern the identity of Japanese culture through an intensive study of the ancient classics, especially the *Kojiki*. His life-work was a study of the *Kojiki* entitled *Kojiki Den*.

¹⁰ The *Kojiki* 古事記 or "Record of Ancient Matters" is Japan's oldest extant chronicle, recording events from the mythical age of the gods up to the time of the Empress Suiko who reigned from 593 to 628 A. D. The compiler, O no Yasumaro, states in the preface that it was presented to the reigning Empress Genmei on 9 March, 712. It is divided into three sections. The first section ("Jindai no maki") records the creation of heaven and earth as well as myths concerning the foundation of Japan. The second section covers the period from Emperor Jimmu's reign through the reign of Emperor Oujin at the beginning of the fifth century. The third section records events from the reign of Emperor Nintoku until the rule of Suiko in the early 7th century. The *Kojiki* places emphasis on myths, legends, and historical and pseudo-historical narratives. It is transcribed in Chinese characters because the Japanese had yet to develop their own syllabic script. Unlike the *Nihon Shoki*, the *Kojiki* does not present variant or sup-

Ko-dau Tai-i, the Summary of the Ancient Way, among other works,

Also in 1875 Satow wrote *A Guide Book to Nikko* (published at the *Japan Mail* office) which was a detailed guide with historical background similar in scope to his work on the "Temples of Ise" one year previously.

In 1876 Satow published *An English-Japanese Dictionary of the Spoken Language* with M. Ishibashi, a member of the Japanese Foreign Ministry. This dictionary underwent a number of revisions over the years, and was still in use during the Second World War, albeit in a much expanded and altered form.

In the following year he wrote about "The Introduction of Tobacco into Japan", again for the Asiatic Society. This paper was read before the Society on November 10th, 1877.¹² Here he discussed the date for the introduction of tobacco, concluding that tobacco was first cultivated in Japan at the beginning of the seventeenth century, but that it was imported commercially twenty years earlier. Unsuccessful attempts were made to ban the weed from 1612 to 1629. The etymology of various Japanese words connected with smoking is discussed: Satow discounts the notion that the Japanese word for pipe, *kiseru*, was of European origin. Wood

plementary versions of a story.

¹¹ Hirata Atsutane 平田篤胤 (1776–1843) was a Kokugaku scholar and Shinto theologian. He was the leader of the Restoration Shinto movement known as *Fukko Shintō* 復古神道 which strove to revive Shinto by freeing it of debilitating Buddhist and Confucian influences. His nationalist thought strongly influenced the *shishi*, loyalist samurai who sought the restoration of direct imperial rule in the late 19th century. It is *Fukko Shinto* (also known in English as Revival Shinto, Renaissance Shinto and Pure Shinto) to which Satow is referring in the title of his article. Cf. Kodansha's *Japan: An Illustrated Encyclopedia*, 1st edn., published 1993: "Fukko Shinto refers to a major movement among scholars, beginning in the seventeenth century and culminating in the nineteenth century, that sought to determine the true form of Shinto in ancient Japan before the introduction of Buddhism, Confucianism and Taoism. The movement began as a reaction against medieval Shinto schools that had incorporated Buddhist ideas and Chinese philosophies. Fukko Shinto thinkers held that these 'alien' ideologies had distorted and corrupted the real meaning of Shinto. The Fukko Shinto movement, especially in its later phase, turned violently against Buddhism and Chinese thought, advocating a return to *kodō* (the ancient way), i.e. pre-Buddhist Japan, seen as a golden age . . .

. . . The ideology of *Fukko Shintō* provided the political and theoretical basis for the establishment of State Shinto."

¹² Published in Volume VI of the *Transactions*.

cuts of Japanese pipes are provided to enliven the text. Merits and demerits of smoking are quoted from the *Ensauki* (煙草記). Japanese medical sources are consulted e.g., Kaibara Yoshifuru who in his *Wajishi* (和事始) at the end of the seventeenth century states that it does more harm than good. (Kaibara Yoshifuru may have also been known as Kaibara Ekiken 買原益軒, a Confucian scholar who lived from 1630 to 1714 and wrote *Yamato Honzou*, in which he classified 1,300 kinds of medicinal herbs from China and Japan.)

1878 was a particularly active year for Satow's writings. He read five separate papers to the Asiatic Society. The first was entitled "The Korean Potters in Satsuma", a paper read before the Society on February 23rd, 1878.¹³ Satow begins by explaining that pottery was one of the arts brought to Japan from Korea, in particular "the delicate white translucent Korean ware to which an antiquity of about five centuries is assigned". Since pre-historic times the Japanese, "always ready to learn from others", have at various times invited Korean artisans to settle in Japan and found schools of pottery. This they did in various places, including Kyoto (*rakuyaki*), Buzen (Agano ware) and Hagi (Nakano ware). Also "in the province of Satsuma there is a village entirely inhabited by potters of Korean origin" whose forefathers came from Korea around the time of the withdrawal of Japanese troops from Korea in 1598. They were brought over by Shimadzu Yoshihiro, the feudal lord of Satsuma, and most of them were settled in 1603 at Tsuboya, a village between Ichiku and Kagoshima, "about twelve miles from the latter town."

Seventeen families settled here. Satow lists their family names. The total population of the village was fifteen hundred. A detailed discussion follows of the pottery which developed from "a coarse kind of dark pottery with a black glaze" through white Satsuma crackled ware (called *hibiki-de*) to decorated earthenware in the style of colouring called *nishiki-de*.

In February 1877 Satow visited and stayed at the Korean village of Tsuboya. He noted that the inhabitants all spoke Japanese and wore Japanese dress. Most of the villagers were producing common brown earthenware. The principle of division of labour was

¹³ Published in Volume VI of the *Transactions*.

(See also Fourth Series, Volume 9, 1994 of the *Transactions* for a broader treatment of this topic. pp 43–61. "The Continental Origins of Takatori Ware: The Introduction of Korean Potters and Technology to Japan Through the Invasions of 1592–1598" by Andrew Maske.)

well understood and applied: one workman would make the bodies of teapots, another the lids, a third the spouts and so on. Satow commented on the clay, glazes and sizes of wheels. He also described the kilns ("built up the face of a hill in parallel rows") in detail.

The finer kind of earthenware (*saishiki-de* and *nishiki-de*) required a different kind of white clay, and a special kiln. Satow measured the dimensions of the largest of this type of kiln. He also lists the composition of the pigments used for producing the various colours of the fine Satsuma wares. He observed the modelling of figures of Kuwanon (Kannon) and Dharma in white clay at the pottery belonging to Chin Jiukuwan, and a statuette of Christ after a sentimental woodcut in a religious periodical called the *Christian Observer* at the Tamanoyama company's establishment. (Tamanoyama kuwaishiya was "a company recently started by some Kagoshima samurai".)

Finally one of the potters put on a costume used for special occasions (for example to honour the prince of Satsuma on his way to Yedo). It comprised "a pair of wide trowsers of dark blue silk, of a very delicate material"; "a wide-sleeved mantle or haori of like colour and texture"; and "a long conical black cap, edged with white. He also produced a broad-brimmed black hat, apparently woven of the stem of a kind of creeper."

On March 9th, 1878, Satow read a very short paper before the Asiatic Society entitled "The Use of the Fire-Drill in Japan".¹⁴ This begins: "The Japanese Museum at Yedo (Haku-butsu-kuwan) possesses a copy of part of the archaic apparatus for kindling fire, called by archaeologists fire-drill, and in Japanese hi-kiri-usu, fire-drilling mortar." There follows a detailed description of the utensil and how it works.

Satow's third paper of 1878 was also read before the Asiatic Society of Japan on the 22nd June, 1878.¹⁵ Its title was "Notes of a Visit to Hachijo in 1878". It was written with F. V. Dickens, a noted botanist who was probably responsible for the section on Botany.¹⁶

The island of Hachijo is part of Tokyo-to now. It is "the last but

¹⁴ Published in Volume VI of the *Transactions*.

¹⁵ Published in Volume VI of the *Transactions*.

¹⁶ Mr F. V. Dickens of London University wrote the Zoology and Botany sections of the *Handbook for Travellers in Central & Northern Japan* (first edition, 1881).

one of the chain which extends south of the promontory of Idzu in almost a straight line, beginning with the still active volcano Vries or Barneveld's island, called Idzu-no-O-shima by the Japanese."

Satow begins by quoting Kaempfer's¹⁷ account of the island, which he says "reads almost like a passage from the Arabian nights" and which contains many incorrect statements. Hachijo was a place of banishment for court nobles, but not before 1603. Also "The statement that the coast is so steep and rocky that the only way of gaining access is by being drawn up by a crane, boat and all, is an absurd exaggeration."

The first Europeans known to have landed on the island were from a British man-of-war, probably *H. M. S. Raleigh*, about 40 years back (i.e. 1838). *H. M. S. Actaeon* also landed several persons in September, 1871. However, on neither of these occasions was a thorough exploration of the island attempted which would have "served to correct the account given by Kaempfer".

Satow then begins his own account of the island. First he locates it precisely and gives its dimensions. He notes: "At the N. W. end rises the volcanic peak to which the name of Fuji has been given by the inhabitants, after the great mountain on the mainland." He gives great detail of the topography and terrain, stressing that "The structure of the island is entirely volcanic."

With regard to the inhabitants he says that they are "nearly all occupied in the cultivation of the soil, more of which is reclaimed every year." The Satsuma potato (*Batatas edulis*) "appears to form the staple food of the islanders, and to be produced in much larger quantities than the other two articles" (i.e. rice and barley).

Alcohol was available in the form of "potato brandy" distilled from the Satsuma potato and "nigori-zake" brewed from rice. Of the latter Satow comments that it "resembles slate-pencil dust stirred up in muddy water, and tastes somewhat like very sour vin ordinaire."

Fish is "very rarely an article of food, as it can be procured only in calm weather, either by fishing with a hook and line, or by div-

¹⁷ Engelbert Kaempfer (1651-1716), German physician and historian, arrived at Nagasaki in September, 1690, to become physician at the Dutch factory on the island of Dejima in Nagasaki Harbour. In 1691 and 1692 he accompanied the annual Dutch tribute mission (Edo Sampo) to the Shogun's court at Edo. His meticulous accounts of these journeys are published in his *History of Japan* (1727-28) which appeared in Dutch, French, and German editions. Satow quotes from the Edn. of London 1727.

ing." The latter method consists in "pursuing the fish with a barbed point fastened to a long cord, and fitted on to the end of an iron skewer furnished with a wooden handle. When the diver finds himself near enough he stabs the fish, which makes off, carrying the barbed point attached to the cord, leaving the skewer in the diver's hand, and after it has tired itself out it is easily secured and brought to land."

The main manufacture of the island is silk-weaving: "... a considerable quantity of raw silk is imported annually from Yedo by a few of the richer farmers, and after being dyed and woven, the material is exported as genuine Hachijo." The only other manufacture is that of salt from sea-water "which is obtained in an extremely wasteful and primitive manner."

Satow found "no shops or inns on the island, but fair accommodation for travellers can be obtained at the farmers' houses." He describes the houses and go-downs in detail.

Of the lives of the people he says: "In their general habits of life the people do not appear to differ greatly from the agricultural population of any other part of Japan. . . . the men occupy themselves chiefly with cultivating the ground and cutting wood, and in their leisure hours they appear to smoke a great deal of bad leaf tobacco, grown in the island, and to drink as much potato spirit as possible." The women "take no part in field-work, but busy themselves with the domestic duties proper to their sex, to which they add the breeding of silkworms, the preparation of the thread and the labours of the loom." They are "by no means hardly treated, and . . . enjoy as high a degree of social freedom as anywhere in the world."

Satow met several exiles banished to Hachijo. "One had originally been a monk of the Honguanji at Kiyoto, but had quitted the 'black robe' to enter the service of the retainer of the daimio of Tosa. After accompanying into the field the troops which were engaged in the reduction of Aidzu in 1868, he returned to Yedo, and had the misfortune to wound a comrade in a quarrel, for which he was punished with perpetual exile. He had returned to his original profession, in which he had conducted himself so well that a pardon had been promised to him." A second exile had murdered half a dozen innocent people, but had become an authority on the past history of the island. A third had been the head of a temple at Senji (a suburb of Yedo). He was caught in a "house of public resort" in Yoshiwara and punished with exile for life.

The final section of the article comprises an investigation of the

dialect of Hachijo. This includes dialogues given in romaji and English in the same style as that used in *Kuawai Hen* (published 1873).

Satow's fourth paper in 1878 was entitled "Ancient Japanese Rituals: No. 1, Praying for Harvest", and was read to the Asiatic Society of Japan on a date between June 22nd and November 27th.¹⁸ (It was published in Volume VII of the *Transactions*.)

Satow's fifth paper in 1878 was read before the Asiatic Society of Japan on November 27th, 1878, and published in Volume VII of the *Transactions*. Its title was: "Vicissitudes of the Church at Yamaguchi from 1550 to 1586." Here for the first time we see Satow embrace a Christian theme.¹⁹

Satow expresses "profound regret . . . that the conversion of the inhabitants to the religion of Europe encountered such powerful hostile influences; that after an extraordinary success had been achieved during the first half century, the tide turned back, and excluded the nation from the pale of Christendom up to this day." He traces the story of Christianity in Japan from the founding of the Jesuit Mission at Yamaguchi by St. Francis Xavier,²⁰ "whose first letter from there is dated on the 20th November, 1550, and addressed to the Society of Jesus at Goa." The letter reported that "after passing a year at Kagoshima, where he had arrived on the 15th August, 1549, making more than a hundred converts with the aid of Brother Paul . . . and studying the language, he left that city

¹⁸ The sequel to this paper entitled "Ancient Japanese Rituals—Part II" was read before the Asiatic Society on June 30th, 1879. It was divided into the following sections: Kasuga Matsuri, or the Service of the Gods of Kasuga; Hirose Oh-Imi no Matsuri, Service of the Goddess of Food; and Tatsuta Kaze no Kami no Matsuri, Service of the Gods of Wind at Tatsuta. Translations of rituals and copious notes are provided. (Volume VII, *Transactions*.)

¹⁹ Satow was finally confirmed in the Anglican faith on October 29th, 1888, at St. Paul's Cathedral by the Bishop of London. (See Allen's *Memoir of Satow*, p. 93.)

²⁰ "Francis Xavier" is the Anglicised form of the Spanish name Francisco de Javier. Born in northern (Basque) Spain in 1506, he studied at the University of Paris and was a founding member of the Society of Jesus (Jesuits). Appointed apostolic delegate for Asia, he left Europe in 1541 and laboured in India and Malacca. In 1547 he met in Malacca a Japanese fugitive named Anjirou (the "Brother Paul" referred to by Satow). Anjirou's glowing account of his native country fired Xavier with enthusiasm to evangelize Japan. Xavier was in Japan from 15 August, 1549, to the end of 1551, when he left Japan for India. His ultimate purpose was to evangelise the Chinese, but he died en route to China on 3 December, 1552.

about the beginning of July, 1550, and proceeded to Hirado . . . Here he and his companions made nearly a hundred more converts in a few days." From there he went on to Kyoto. "But on arriving there he found the city full of armed men, and in a state bordering on anarchy, which did not appear likely to favour his attempts to make proselytes, and the two missionaries therefore retraced their steps to Yamaguchi."

Satow describes Ohochi Yoshitaka, the then ruler of Yamaguchi, to whom Xavier presented letters of credence and presents from the Portuguese Viceroy of India and the Bishop of Goa. The presents included a clock and a harpsichord. Yoshitaka greatly appreciated these and offered a "considerable sum of money in silver and gold" in return. However, "Xavier declined to receive it, and begged instead for permission to preach Christianity, which was readily granted. A proclamation was published, declaring that the King approved of the introduction of the new religion, and granting to the people perfect liberty to embrace it, and an empty Buddhist monastery was assigned to the missionaries as a residence. Their operations were attended with great success. Five hundred converts were made in a couple of months." . . . Yet there was a deal of anti-Christian feeling also with which the missionaries had to contend in subsequent years, largely stirred up by warring Japanese factions.

Satow traces the vicissitudes of the Jesuits through a study of these wars, and through letters addressed by the missionaries to Goa and Portugal. He also discovered "the identity of the two names Condera and Kuroda", i.e. they were both the same person. This "identity has been hitherto overlooked by every one who has written on the subject of the Roman Catholic missions in Japan."

After the "annus mirabilis" of 1878, we find Satow the writer in full cry through the following four years before his return to England on leave in 1883.

In 1879 he wrote a paper on the "Transliteration of the Japanese Syllabary" which was published in Volume VII of the *Transactions of the Asiatic Society*. This begins with a discussion of "names" (名) and how the ancient Japanese "began by learning those (Chinese) characters which represented what we call substantives or rather nouns, and to which they naturally applied the word na, name, extending it afterwards to others which denoted qualities, actions and relations." Mention is made of the "earliest extant attempt to form a dictionary, namely the Wa-miyau Seu (和名抄) or 'Transcription of Japanese Names', composed by the famous

Minamoto no Shitagafu²¹ (911–983), which is a collection of Chinese characters, with definitions of their meaning, and the Japanese equivalents, all of which are nouns substantive."

Satow says that it cannot be stated with certainty at what period the Chinese writing system was introduced into Japan. However "We have in the Kozhiki (711 A. D.) the positive statement that the Thousand Character Composition (Senzhimon 千字文) was one of the first books brought to Japan by the Korean Wani . . ." This book did not exist before the sixth century, and Satow reasons that it "certainly could not have reached Japan by way of Korea much before the middle of the sixth century A. D."

The article goes on to discuss the introduction of Chinese literature into Japan, the idea of using Chinese characters to spell Japanese words, the development of katakana and hiragana, alternative romanizations and so on.

On January 13th, 1880, Satow read a "Reply to Dr. Edkins on 'Chi' and 'Tsu'" before the Asiatic Society. In his paper on "The Transliteration of the Syllabary",²² Satow said that 'there was nothing to show that ㄐ and ti were ever identical, and that there does not exist any evidence in support of the supposition that tsu and chi are corruptions of tu and ti.' This was challenged by Edkins but Satow sought to refute his arguments in a brief but scholarly manner.

On April 13th, 1880, Satow read another paper entitled "Ancient Sepulchral Mounds in Kaudzuke" to the Society. It was published in Volume VIII of the *Transactions* and included 41 illustrations and descriptions of pottery found in the burial mounds. (Kaudzuke is in the neighbourhood of the village of Ohomuro, which is about seven miles East of Maebashi in Gunma prefecture.) The paper included a discussion of "the ancient Japanese custom of burying human beings and horses at the tombs of chieftains, for which clay figures . . . were afterwards substituted." Reference is made to the *Ni-hon-gi*²³ regarding the practice.

The first edition of *A Handbook for Travellers in Central and Northern*

²¹ Minamoto no Shitagafu 源順 (911–983). Often spelled Shitagou. A major literary figure of the mid-10th century, one of the Sanjuurokkasen (Thirty-Six Poetic Geniuses). He was also one of the so-called Five Men of the Pear Chamber (Nashitsubo no Gonin), who were chosen by Emperor Murakami in 951 to compile the second imperial anthology of Japanese poetry, the *Gosen Wakashuu*, and also to make a scholarly study of the *Man'youshuu*. His works include the *Wamyou Ruijushou* (or *Wanyoushou*) to which Satow refers.

²² Published in Volume VIII of the *Transactions*.

Japan was published in 1881. (A second, revised edition was published by John Murray in London with Kelly & Co. Yokohama in 1884). The handbook was authored jointly by Satow and Lieutenant A. G. S. Hawes of the Royal Marines, and many friends contributed, including B. H. Chamberlain,²⁴ W. G. Aston²⁵ (Pictorial and Glyptic Art) F. V. Dickens (Zoology and Botany) and J. J. Rein²⁶ (Geography and Climate). Satow himself wrote the sections on Shin-to and Buddhism. The book was divided into an

²³ *Ni-hon-gi*, or *Nihon Shoki* 日本書紀 (Chronicle of Japan). The oldest official history of Japan covering events from the mythical age of the gods up to the reign of the Empress Jitō (686–697). The *Nihon Shoki* was completed on 1 July, 720. The *Nihon Shoki*'s 30 volumes plus 1 volume of genealogical charts are the work of many people, including Prince Toneri, a son of Emperor Temmu, and possibly Fujiwara no Fuhito, a powerful figure in the government. Although the official name of the work was *Nihongi*, other early documents refer to it as *Nihon Shoki*.

²⁴ Basil Hall Chamberlain (1850–1935) was one of the foremost Western interpreters of things Japanese. Born of a distinguished family in Southampton, England, on 18 October, 1850. Educated in Europe and England. His father intended him to be a banker, but at age 18 he became ill. His physician recommended travel, and Chamberlain landed in Japan on 29 May, 1873.

He taught at the Imperial Navy school in Tokyo from 1874 to 1882. His most important position, however, was as professor of Japanese at Tokyo University beginning in 1886. It was here that he gained his reputation as a student of Japanese language and literature. His many works include the translation of the *Kojiki* into English (1906), *A Handbook of Colloquial Japanese* (1888), *Things Japanese* (1890), and *A Practical Guide to the Study of Japanese Writing* (1905). With W. B. Mason he wrote *A Handbook for Travellers in Japan* (1891), which grew out of Satow and Hawes's handbook and went through numerous editions. He retired to Geneva, Switzerland in 1911.

²⁵ William George Aston (1841–1911) was a British diplomat and Japanologist. He was born in Northern Ireland. Arriving in Japan in 1864 (two years after Satow), he worked for the British legation during the late Edo and early Meiji periods, first serving as an interpreter and later as Hyogo (now Kobe) consul and secretary to the legation in Tokyo. In addition to a translation of the *Nihon Shoki* (published 1896) he was the author of such works as *A History of Japanese Literature* (1899) and *Shinto* (1905) as well as the first English-language grammar of spoken and written Japanese. He also made a comparative study of Japanese and the Indo-European languages.

²⁶ J. J. Rein (1835–1918) was a Professor of Geography at Bonn University. There is a memorial inscribed to his memory in Shiramine, Ishikawa prefecture, which records his collecting of plant fossils there in July 1874 as well as his contribution to the education of Japanese students during his tenure at Bonn from 1883 to 1910. Since 1981 the Rein Hakase Kensho Kai has met annually in Shiramine to commemorate Rein. Lectures are published in the Rein Sai. (See "Beitrag zur Geschichte der Geographie an der Universitaet Bonn" *Colloquium*

Introduction containing general articles, and Routes, beginning with Tokio and Environs and ending with Excursions from Nagasaki. Maps and plans were also provided.

Ernest Satow's last two papers published by the Asiatic Society of Japan before his return to England in 1883 were "On the Early History of Printing in Japan" (read on December 15th, 1881) and a follow-up entitled "Further Notes on Movable Types in Korea and Early Printed Japanese Books" (read on June 21st, 1882). Both papers were subsequently published in Volume X of the *Transactions* of the Society.

The former is divided into the following sections:

I. Block Books. II. Printing with Movable Types; Block Books of the Same Period; and Pictorial Wood Engraving.

The history of block printing is traced from 175 A. D. in China through its introduction in 8th century Japan up to the seventeenth century. Printing with movable types of clay may have begun in the middle of the 11th century in China, but Satow could find no evidence to corroborate this. He mentions many 14th-century Korean texts, and dates the introduction of movable types into Japan with "little doubt" to the end of the sixteenth century: "... after the first invasion of Korea by the armies of Hideyoshi . . . a large quantity of Korean movable type books were brought back by one of his generals, Ukida Hideihe,²⁷ which formed the model on which the Japanese printers worked."

The latter paper is a brief addendum to the main paper after Satow was allowed to examine two of the early Korean printed books mentioned in the main paper: the *Sun-tzu Shih-i Chia Chu* of 1409 and the *Li-tai Chiang Chien Po-i* of 1437. He was enabled to do

Geographicum, Bd. 21, Bonn 1991, p. 196–205: "Johann Justus Rein" by Gerhard Aymans.)

²⁷ Ukita Hideie 宇喜多秀家 (1572–1655). A Daimyo of the Azuchi-Momoyama period. (1568–1600). Hideie succeeded his father, Naoie (1529–81), in lordship of a large domain centered on Okayama in Bizen Province. Hideie was a favourite of Toyotomi Hideyoshi, who gave him his adopted daughter Gou Hime in marriage. Hideie served in various campaigns, including the invasions of Korea in 1592 and 1597. He became one of the "Five Great Elders" (Gotairou) of the Toyotomi regime in 1595. In the Battle of Sekigahara (1600) Hideie opposed Tokugawa Ieyasu; defeated, he lost his great domain and fled to Kyushu, seeking the protection of the Shimazu family of Kagoshima. In 1603 the Shimazu delivered Hideie to the Tokugawa; in 1606 he was exiled to the island of Hachijo, where he lived until his death.

²⁸ Shigeno Yasutsugu 重野安綱 (1827–1910). Historian born in Satsuma. He

this through the courtesy of Mr. Shigeno,²⁸ the then Director of the Imperial Historiographical Bureau.

Concluding Remarks

The above is a summary of the first seventeen years of Satow's productive life as a Japanologist. It is most striking that he was able to produce such work at the same time as learning the Japanese language (of which he quickly became an acknowledged master) and working as a Secretary to Her Majesty's Legation. The range and depth of his scholarship is equally fascinating.

E. M. Satow not only wrote about Japan, but the bulk of his published work was related to Japan. The works cited above are about half of his total scholarly output. I have made no mention here of his best known book, "A Diplomat in Japan", which comprises his personal memoirs of the years 1862–9. It lies outside the scope of this article²⁹ both chronologically (it was first published in 1921) and thematically.

Finally Sir George Sansom's³⁰ assessment should be noted:

"Satow was perhaps a rather dry scholar, but he was a prodigious worker. Besides being a most valuable member of the British Legation in Japan at a crucial period, he added to his undersanding of Japanese politics a remarkable command of the Japanese language and a scholar's interest in Japanese history and literature.

studied at the Shouheikou, the shogunate academy in Edo. After the Meiji Restoration (1868) he supervised the compilation of historical records at the Office of Historiography (Shuushikyoku). Shigeno was appointed professor of history at Tokyo University in 1888. Adamantly opposed to the moralistic use of history, he was forced to resign in 1893 after attacks by Shinto nationalists.

²⁹ This article originated from a lecture delivered to the Kansai branch of the Japan Association of Comparative Culture 日本比較文化学会 on "Japan through the Eyes of E. M. Satow" at Doshisha University, Kyoto on September 17th, 1994.

³⁰ George Bailey Sansom (1883–1965). Diplomat, historian, and doyen of Japanese studies. After entering the British consular service at age 19, he was sent to the Far East in 1904 and began a career in Japan that lasted until World War II. In 1928 he published *An Historical Grammar of Japanese*, and in 1931 *Japan: A Short Cultural History*. In 1951 while at Columbia University he wrote *The Western World and Japan*. An appointment to Stanford University enabled him to undertake his major scholarly work, the three-volume *A History of Japan* (1958–63).

Much of his work is still not superseded. He is one of the founding fathers of modern Japanology."

(*Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. XXIV, No. 4, p. 566. August 1965)

Thanks

I wish to record my gratitude to the librarians of Kyushu Institute of Technology for their hard work in obtaining copies of all of Satow's papers mentioned above (except for "A Guide Book to Nikko" which I found in the British Library in July 1994).

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